



Social Movement Resistance Against the State Social Case Study: PTPN Damak Maliho, Bangun Purba District, 2008-2009

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Abstract

The study is about the Resistance movement against the state social case study PTPN Damak Maliho in ancient 2008-2009. The main discussion is between peasants' groups with PTPN IV at deli Serdang district, Damak Maliho, and the role of peasants' groups in reversion land rights. The conclusion is that the root of the problem is a scramble for the land of 198 ha state of the community with PTPN IV in Damak Maliho, Bangun Purba's District, Deli Serdang is a state of each other claims of land between the village community with PTPN IV of 198 acres of land. Second, the strategy is taken by leaders the base states peasants' village Damak Maliho to demand land rights by occupying the land. Third, analysis Karl Marx saw the result of this research concluded that countries' indecisiveness in seeing the conflicts causes losses to peasants.

Keywords: *Old order, the new order, land reform, economic determination, conflict, the structure of mobility, social construction, political opportunities*

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INTRODUCTION

Land conflicts have always been a problem often encountered in this agrarian country. From the recordings of various cases of land disputes that have ever existed, starting from the colonial era of the Dutch East Indies to the New Order regime, starting from the cases of Cilegon Banten (1888), Cimaacan Bandung (1989), Jenggawah Jember (1995), to Kalibakar South Malang (1997), always put the peasants in a position face to face with the authorities. In a position like this, of course, peasants' resistance cannot be avoided. This conflict from the end of the Diponegoro rebellion (1830) until the beginning of the national movement (1908), more than 100 rebellions and peasant unrest occurred (Dr. Mustain. 2007).

Indonesia has been an independent country since August 17, 1945, which aims to fulfill citizens' rights to get independence and abolish colonialism in the world. In the preamble to the 1945 Constitution, we can see that the goals of an independent Indonesia are to protect the entire Indonesian nation and the entire homeland of Indonesia, to promote public welfare, to educate the nation's life, to participate in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice. In addition, the goal of

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independent Indonesia is to realize the welfare of the people, free from colonialism and imperialism. Indonesia officially has fulfilled all the requirements for forming a state that makes the 1945 Constitution a constitution and Pancasila as the basic ideology of the state, which aims to regulate all sectors of the development model in the Indonesian state.

From 1945 to 1965, Indonesia was led by President Soekarno where his leadership period was called the Old Order Era. Old Order Era was marked by the birth of UUPA No. 5 of 1960, which is a derivative of Article 33 paragraph (3). Founders of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) formulated a brief but very substantial philosophical definition of land and natural resources in the Constitution, Article 33 Paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution, i.e., earth and water and the natural resources contained therein are controlled by the State and used for the greatest prosperity of the people". TAP MPRS RI Number II/1960 and the Political Manifesto of the Old Order mention three philosophical foundations of development in the old order, namely, anti-exploitation of humans by humans (*la exploitation de la per la home*), economic independence, anti-colonialism, imperialism, feudalism, and capitalism. With land reform as the main agenda. Land is one of the essential agrarian elements as a source of production, which is very much needed so that many interests are trying to control it. Population development and the needs that accompany it are increasingly disproportionate to the land area that never increases.

The paradigm shift in Indonesia's economic development began in 1966, through PELITA plans 1 to 6, which required efforts to increase industrialization through exploration of natural resources, the most crucial part of which was expanding land allocation for plantations. The industrialization effort of the new order era finally led to the establishment of PTPN IV in 1974 in Deli Serdang Regency as one of the state plantations that manage oil palm plantations. The presence of PTPN IV in the Deli Serdang district turned out to harm the community, especially in the village of Damak Maliho. In 2008 there was a conflict over land grabs between the farming community of Damak Maliho village and the police because the land occupied by the community was used as community agricultural land covering an area of 198 ha, which was claimed to be included in the PTPN IV HGU.

The land area of 198 acres of land, which is contested between community and PTPN IV, controlled by the state as mandated in the 1945 constitution article 33, peoples who lived there since 1940 opened the land based on the mandate of the PA Law. 1960 and PRP No. 5 of 1960, recognized by the village head as a form of policy implementation of the 1960 PA Law to increase income outside as laborers at the NV PERIMEX company. NV PERIIMEX is a plantation company that first entered the Deli Serdang district in 1940. The company changed ownership to PT Sari Task after the collapse of the old order regime, and in 1974, PT Sari Task transferred the plantation company to PTPN IV Kebun Adolina Bah Jambi, which is still operating (Indonesian Peasants Union DPW North Sumatra).

Community resistance to PTPN IV is carried out based on community pressure to demand the return of land rights, in this case, the community forms associations to fight for community rights to land, community resistance to PTPN or the State occurs a lot in Indonesia, this is a classic problem that often colors the country's agrarian conflict. *Gunawan Wiradi said that land conflicts in Indonesia had started since the feudal era,*

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which was the implication of peasants' anxiety due to the forcible takeover of their land by the kingdom (nobles) (Gunawan Wiradi).

North Sumatra continues to increase yearly; in 2007, the National Land Agency of the North Sumatra Regional Office recorded 485 agrarian conflicts in the North Sumatra region, increasing to 852 cases in 2008, increasing 870 cases in 2009. This number, according to the land agency North Sumatra is an accumulation of old cases that have not been or unaddressed, plus new cases reported by the public (Hardensi Adnin).

The peak of resistance between the community and the State through PTPN IV Deli Serdang Regency in 2008 is inseparable from the interests of PTPN who, wants to expand its plantation area, in the process of expanding the land area of 198 ha owned by the community is included in the target of PTPN expansion. The resistance carried out by the community caused injuries on the side of the community of peasants in Damak Maliho, destruction of community agricultural land, and arrests to imprisonment. Until now, efforts to resolve land conflicts in Damak Maliho are still on processed until the community land returns. Marx considered that the degree of inequality in the distribution of resources, especially power, was a determinant of objective conflicts of interest between those who had power and those who did not. Marx's assumption that. "Within all social structures, an uneven distribution of power inevitably leads to conflicts of interest between those who have power and those who have no power. According to Marx, the existence of conflicts of interest can cause those who are weak to question the validity of the current patterns of distribution of sources.

RESEARCH METHODE

This research uses descriptive research; Data collection is done through field research techniques and uses quantitative analysis as the primary method. Data collection is done through field research techniques. For analysis data, the data analysis is also done qualitatively as support.

RESISTANCE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT ON STATES, CASE STUDY BY PTPN IV

First, The root of the problem of land grabs covering an area of 198 acres of land between the community with PTPN IV Damak Maliho Village, Bangun Purba Subdistrict, Deli Serdang is the State of mutual land claims between the people of Damak Maliho Village and PTPN I, In this case when viewed historically socially. Culturally the existence of the land is very closely related to peasants, causes community resistance against PTPN, and demands the State to redistribute land that PTPN has controlled returned to the community. The evidence of documents and history through the surviving elderly shows that the community brings in the legal path.

The land conflict in Damak Maliho Village in 2008-2009 is an agrarian case that does not have a common ground due to the local government's indecision to grant land status, meaning that any party should not manage the land. However, PTPN IV carried out evictions, destruction of land to the imprisonment of farmers of Damak Maliho Village using the power of police officers.

Due to various pressures and intimidation from the PTPN through police officers, the community formed the Head of the Indonesian Peasants Union Base Damak Maliho Village, which was used as a forum for community gatherings in fighting for land rights. The formation of the base leadership is inseparable from the 1998 reforms, the freedom of opinion, association, and assembly, which is the result of reform is a factor of the

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formation of Damak Maliho Village Base Leader makes the heirs of the land dare themselves to demand land that belongs to formerly owned by the community's parents.

Second, the strategy undertaken by the Head of Damak Maliho Village Peasants' Union Base to demand their land rights is by occupying the land. The process of forming a Social Movement of Damak Maliho village community who fight against the State (PTPN IV) is inseparable from the formation of the Indonesian Peasants Union Organization or can be called a social institution used as a forum for mobilization of the community movement Damak Maliho village against PTPN IV. To restore peasants' land, including how *networking and consolidation* strengthen social movements, shows that the structure or instituted becomes a vehicle for the community of Damak Maliho Village to conduct social movements that include people who depend on the disputed land.

Activities carried out by the Village Community of Damak Maliho in the competition for land rights that occurred in 2008 to 2009 were conveyed by Brother Ijon Tua Purba is

"The activities that we do occupy an area of 198 acres of land, which is has been claimed by PTPN IV to occupy the banana tree, manga, and other plants on the outskirts of the land. After planting one day, the trees we planted have disappeared; our goal is to plant so that the local government and PTPN IV want to see the condition of the surrounding community that is in dire need of the land."(Interview Fuad Perdana Ginting)

Ijon Tua Purba also said:

"In the demonstration at the BPN office, we carried banners containing the hopes and conditions that occurred in the village; the banners read, "Land for the People," the community also shouted "return our land," "long live the peasants" not only that we also crowded singing songs of the struggle of Indonesian peasants' unions at the time of the demonstration. We hope to do all that so that the government will hear and see the problems faced by the people of Damak Maliho Village (Interview Ijon Tua Purba)

Community activities, including campaigns through banners, action, and land occupation, are part of McAdam's theory's realization of cultural framing. In framing the people of Damak Maliho Village together, they create the meanings they build based on the events that occurred and experienced. The framing used is a carrying and holding slogans include: "Land for peasants" and "Stop Violence and Land Destruction by Police Officers." All of the slogans created aim to raise awareness of the State and Local Governments to influence public policies related to the restoration of land rights. b. Creating movement songs with the theme of satire or hope, the titles of the songs are as follows: Reject Food Imports, Keep Going Forward, Seeds of Struggle, United Peasants in the World, Go Forward Youth and Peasants, United, Heaven on the Equator, Land for Peasants, Vultures in the Free Market, Mass Organizations of Peasant Struggle. These songs are not only as solace for disappointments that have been felt but as satire and hope for the policies taken by State.

Third, Analysis Karl Marx looking at the results of this study, concluded that the indecision of the State in seeing the conflict that occurred caused harm to the peasants. This positions the alignment of the State does not lie with the community. This is the state's repressiveness through PTPN and the police responding to problems that damage peasants' land, beatings, and imprisonment that cause psychological disorders such as trauma experienced by peasants' families. Means that Karl Marx's assumption that the

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State does not serve all the interests of its people, but only serves the interests of certain social classes and the State becomes the tool of a dominant class to maintain the position of the dominant class is very much following the results of this study.

McAdam's view through three variants of the theory integrated for the success of social movements, namely, political opportunities, mobility structures, and social construction of cultural frame development concludes what the community is doing by forming the Head of the Indonesian Peasants' Union Base on Damak Maliho Village is very appropriate. as seen from the beginning of the community's line of resistance against PTPN IV starting from the collapse of the new order regime that made it possible. Reform means that the birth of reform is political opportunities that people have to gather in fighting for their rights.

The mobility structures owned by the community are seen from the support of the resistance movement of Damak Maliho Village against PTPN IV by DPW SPI North Sumatra and DPP SPI who escorted the case to the highest legal process. The social construction of cultural frame development is seen from the results of activities carried out by the community to restore land rights, these activities include land occupation actions, actions with slogans and actions through songs containing resistance and hopes carried out by the community of Damak Maliho Village which aims to arouse awareness and influence public policy.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of this studies. There are three conclusion; first, the root of the problem of land grabs covering an area of 198 acres of land is the state of land claims between the people of Damak Maliho Village with PTPN IV covering an area 198 of those acres. secondly, The strategy carried out by the Head of the Damak Maliho Village Peasants' Union Base to demand their land rights is to occupy land. third, Karl Marx Analysis looking at the results of this study concluded that the state's indecision in seeing the conflict caused harm to peasants.

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